593x 574 ótswɛ́kɛ́ lílɛ́la otswɛ́k'olɛ́, bɛ́fɔ́kolaka mbɔ́k'ɛ́y'olɛ́ la ngɔ̰m'a nkolɛ́, "If you are married go back to your parents, or you will be taught the way with drums and gongs," that is, "when you are dead." (2)

[164] [644] ●[534]

2. A woman is buried in her own native clan. Her corpse is transported there to the accompaniment of drums and horns. The lokolɛ́ gong announces her death.

593x 602 A married woman may not evade the duty of helping her relatives under special circumstances (pregnancy, illness, serious accidents, death). This obligation [285] is not limited to her mother and father, but extends to all her relatives; the closer the degree of kinship, the stricter the obligation.

Besides, love of family is sufficiently developed so that there is no danger of the woman forgetting herself too much in this realm. [626] And a husband who would like to prevent her from fulfilling these elementary duties would be much criticized by all and should expect a dissolution of the marriage.

593x 574 342 536 It was said above that a husband builds a hut for his wife. His relatives often assist him in this task. But it also happened -- in the past, for colonization has removed the possibility of it -- that the woman's father wanted to build his daughter's house himself or at least to make the pavement out of clay brought from her native land. This act was a demonstration of wealth and politico-social importance as well as proof of fatherly affection. The husband, for his part, was honored to have married the daughter of such an important man and loved her all the more. Thus a number of women say that "they only cooked on ancestral soil." This soil was brought in baskets across distances up to 50 kilometers by Batswa and by men of the woman's clan or village. Her father could do it because of his great influence and regal rewards (bokɔ̰ndɔ, verb kɔ̰nda) were distributed during a feast (ntɛke) given for the workers and their relatives after the task was completed. This was done for Bɔmpɛli, daughter of Bɔkɔmbɛ of Litúli (Bombwanja) married to Bɔnyɛmɛ w'enyuka of the Basɛ́kɛ́ Mbangɔ (Bonkoso); for Beluka, daughter of

this outrage (nkɛlɛ eleki ɛy'olɔ́mbɔ́). It is a kind of national dishonor. This observation also clearly pinpoints the great difference between the favorite and the bolɔ́mbɔ́.

The following custom should be mentioned in this connection: if any man, even a stranger or one who comes from a great distance, comes and -- over the fence -- strikes the roof of a bolɔ́mbɔ́'s ilɛkɛ of seclusion with his elefɔ́ (1) as a call to

1. A wooden bell (see Congo, 1935, Vol. 2, p. 366, figs. 4 and 5).

war, the whole village is obliged to take up arms to defend him. All the men [352] accompany him and unite with his family against the enemy clan, whatever the distance may be. The Nkundɔ́ say that the act of touching the bolɔ́mbɔ́'s hut infuriates the entire clan and makes them take up arms without hesitation. (1)

1. Compare the result of a serious offense, whose effect is entirely in the offender's favor, to analogous cases described previously, for example in Chapter III, Article VII; Chapter VI, Article V, 4, Appendix; and below in Chapter VIII, Article II, 3, (2).

One last indication of the social nature of this institution is the fact that the bolɔ́mbɔ́ has the right to sit beside her husband at public gatherings and feasts, a prerogative which she alone of all women possesses. With her is a boy or girl who serves as her "boy" and carries the seat (bɔ́ɔ́nga) on which she sits.

When a bolɔ́mbɔ́ dies her husband may put another in her place. To do so he repeats the ceremony described above. It is called sangoja bolɔ́mbɔ́, "to make succeed to the title of bolɔ́mbɔ́."

As we saw in Chapter I, Part 1, Article II, a man may even make his daughter a bolɔ́mbɔ́.

764 for it was necessary first to celebrate the farewell feast, and the widower's family had to gather to discuss the matter and collect the valuables needed for the funeral payment (see the article which follows). Only after all that did the young men belonging to the [482] husband's family take the mortal remains upon their shoulders -- wrapped in a mat or enclosed in a coffin, depending on the case.

If possible all the husband's relatives take part in the procession. The pallbearers walk at the head. The men are armed with bows and arrows, knives and sticks, seldom with spears. The women accompany them [425], wailing. The husband and, if necessary, a few relatives carry with them the various objects they will need for the payments. Some men have a lotótsi (an ● [534] ocarina) (1) or an antelope horn on which they play intermittently. (2)

1. See my "Note sur les Instruments de Musique à l'Equateur (Note on Musical Instruments at the Equator)" in Congo, 1935, Vol. 2, July, p. 187, figs. 1 and 2 (p. 199).

2. Sometimes there is also an accompaniment of drums.

[201] At the time the corpse is lifted and while passing through villages between their own and their destination, the lokolé is struck with regular and equal blows (-kémya) to announce the arrival of the funeral procession.

584 764 The chief personage among those who follow the corpse is not the husband, but the ndonga. He may never be absent at that time. Even if the husband is deceased and the procession is that of a widow who has not remarried, the ndonga must always be in the party. The duty of bringing the corpse of a married woman is above all his.

The ndonga may go ahead of the procession to inform the family of the deceased of her death, and if there is a great distance between the wife's village and the husband's, he may not be able

845 However, these names are not used exclusively by such persons;
551 they may be given to others as well. The father, on the other hand, does not receive a new name; but he bears the title Is'éy'ǎfé, which literally means "father of two." (1) Twins are also said to

1. Among the Ekonda he is called Buka.

be Ǎmbámba (pl. Byǎmbámba) from the verb -ámba, "to accept, to receive," because they are permitted to accept and to take everything, since none of the usual prohibitions apply to them.

The mother of twins is not required to go into seclusion
845 (nyang'éy'aása áfóáte waékelé). The shed belonging to the head
343 of the clan, that is, the one in whose home important animals (leopards, etc.) are dismembered, is set up for her. (2) The shed

2. Therefore, at the bonsenge place or the place of dismembering important animals (nyama yǎ bikofo, literally "superb animals").

is closed by means of palms. Neither the parents, nor the helper, nor the persons who enter this place are required to observe continence or the other prohibitions involved in ekelé.

All the members of the kin group come to greet the twins
845 and give each one a present (hens, knives, arrows, food), which is received by the father or the mother. Whenever anything is given to one of the twins, even if it is the smallest object, the same must be given to the other; otherwise the latter would die. If the mother takes one in her arms, the other one must also be picked up, either by her or by the father. If she strikes one, she must also strike his brother. This [503] duality therefore applies to everything, and with even greater reason to nursing.

If a twin child cries or is ill, the parents must sing and
● [534] dance to the accompaniment of a lokolé and a ngòmo drum, a ceremony called -bénga baása. If someone invites a twin or his

326 The objects of iron made by the Mongo smith are as follows.
411

Bibui: all that is of iron

1. Likula: arrow.
2. Bosuki: arrow for hunting pigs; also used to cut copal and spear fish.
3. Bongelo: lance.
4. Ifombolo: lance.
5. Mpokwankoi: lance.
6. Liswa: axe.

326
412

Jokula: knives

1. Mombi; 2. Boli; 3. Bolengwa; 4. Lingonda; 5. Limenga; 6. Likodzi; 7. Efamba; 8. Momba; 9. More little knives; 10. Lizangi.

Basongo: needles

[413]

1. Ingwala.
2. Lokili: tattooing needle.
3. Jyolo: small needle to get flea beetles out of the feet.
4. Efoli: small pin.

326
534
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[789]

Ngonga: bells

1. Ngonga ea tosisi: bells worn on the hips by women and children so that as they walk the ringing will keep away the evil spirits.
2. Bongonga: a bell attached to the point of a war-lance which makes it like the head of a walking-stick but upside down.
3. Lingwete: little round bell worn on the wrist by men.
4. Elondza ea itumba: the war-bell. An oblong pipe [97] in the form of a long cup attached to a stick. It is struck with a piece of soft wood, and the sound travels surprisingly far.

These bells are all made of wrought iron.

202 so-and-so has died. Hours before his actual death, people everywhere know that a certain person is on his deathbed and that his death is imminent.

[100] If the witch doctor is up to his tricks of duping the silly Negro, people everywhere around know just what nonsense he is performing at what moment.

The White announces his morning and midday orders by means of the lokole and tells his workers when they may cease work for the day by the same means.

In the mornings and evenings and in the case of wet weather, the lokole carries especially far, but in the full sun it is not so effective.

202 534 The lokole is a large block of wood which is split down the middle for almost the whole of its length, and the inside part is carefully hollowed out. The lokole has the shape of an extra long, open mussel shell although, in general, the outside edges are flattened out.

322 The making of lokole is the trade of a certain person, and some Negroes are well-known for the lokole they have made.

Only four kinds of wood are suitable for the making of a lokole. [824] These are (1) Bokungu; (2) Likoso; (3) Bolondo; and (4) Isi. The last is the most excellent kind of wood and the one used by the Mongo [386] Negro to manufacture his "ngula" (red dye) with which he smears his body for even the least important event that occurs in his village. The Isi is probably a species of redwood. The Mongo Negro makes 322 five different lokole: (1) Ingonga, small in shape; (2) lokole ja losali, 534 medium size; (3) bongungu, large lokole. These three are all like the one described above. They are struck with sticks (bosolu) from the "momambo" tree (umbrella tree). (4) Bonkuka is the large, high lokole that is struck with two sticks to the ends of which are attached several balls of caoutchouc. The sound of these lokole carries for the greatest distance. (5) Ngomo is the large, oblong, upright dance lokole. This lokole is simply a large, oblong piece of wood, completely hollowed out, decorated a little, about 1.25 meters high, and covered at the top with a piece of dried antelope or leopard skin. It is struck with the fingers and the palm of the hand. This lokole is the well-known tom-tom, still used by the Negroes on the steamboats to announce their arrival in the villages along the river.

202 198 And now something about lokole language.

The beat of the lokole varies, and it is by this means that the Negroes [101] understand the different words. The tempo varies also.

352
322 [103] Occasionally one sees a native stool, made as described above, but with a kind of back rest chopped out of one piece.

342
177 The Negro who wishes to move with the times makes for his house a chair out of bamboo in the European style: some sticks stuck in the ground, a mat of split bamboo laid over them, and the gentleman can spend his days in dolce far niente [pleasant idleness].

352
322 A table made in the same way (otherwise unknown to the Negro) completes the furnishing of his hut.

One does not need to be an expert, either, in order to be able to make a Negro bed. Some straight sticks are chopped out of the mombambo (umbrella tree). These are placed lengthwise and then across, on top of each other, trimmed a bit at the edges so that the whole thing fits more or less, and it is then bound together with some split lianas. In this way the Negro has made a bed; this favorite [435] piece of furniture is finished for a sale price of 5 to 10 mitako.

The making of beds could be classed among the Mongo trades. [438] I once saw, in the interior, ten of these beds, large and small spread out along the side of the road for sale.

I was assured that the owner of the beds was the very best bed-maker of the village. Of course, I raised my hat to such an important personage.

The ekoba, the bed stool, is also indispensable. These ekoba take the place of our pillows and are made of one piece, formed to the shape of the head. It is a somewhat hard pillow, but the Negro head is hard and can put up with it; the fellow sleeps without having to be rocked.

322
252 To prepare his food he needs some mortars and pestles, and these are made of wood. He uses hardwood for these utensils so that the mortars do not wear away from the constant pounding.

In addition, the Negro makes his oars, his bow and arrows for
322 the hunt, and the lokombi. The lokombi is a flat, oblong, hollowed
534 block of wood over which some pegs are stretched [sic]. He plucks these with his fingers, thus producing a monotonous sound. This so-called musical instrument is the constant companion of the young man and accompanies him on his long treks through the Evenaar forest and on his visits to friends and acquaintances.

7:Brown M-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FO32 Mongo FO32
Ntomba

fear of death would deter him from such baseness. Another sign of the chosen successor is some untoward experience, such, for example, as finding cowrie shells (worn by *nkumu*) in a trap in the forest or a net that had been put out to catch fish.

Nkema Akuke, whether the first of his line or a man succeeding in the office, bears the emblems of his rank. He wears an *ilolembe* (a branch of a special bush) stuck into his belt on the right side and hanging downwards. The special hat, *montolo*, worn by *nkumu* is not yet his to wear, but he wears an ordinary skin hat known as *lopopa*, which is the mark of any elder. This hat may be ornamented with feathers if so desired.

When *Nkema Akuke* decides that he has acquired sufficient wealth to enable him properly to claim the right of being made an *nkumu*, he begins his preparatory arrangements. *Mbili*, a mixture of charcoal with some sticky substance, is smeared over his body with plantain leaves. All ornamented clothing is discarded and a single cloth woven from raffia, and known as *molele*, is worn. He refuses to sit on the benches usually used and instead sits on the bare earth. All this is explained as an attempt on the part of the man about to be raised to the office of *nkumu* to be different from others, a man apart, separate, peculiar, not partaking in the ordinary interests and affairs of his fellow men.

Nkema Akuke now leaves his own village accompanied by all his wives and children, and also by a singer, *nyemba*, who is paid to sing his praises, and by several male Batwa (pygmies), up to half a dozen in number, known as *ntotii* because of their duty of blowing gourds and producing sounds which indicate praise of the great man. This party makes the round of villages wherever relatives are found, and the announcement is made that *Nkema Akuke* is about to become an *nkumu*. This pilgrimage accomplished, a 'doctor' (*nkanga*) is visited by the aspirant to office, who seeks by magic to discover whether it is the propitious time for the ceremony of installation. The whole company retires to the private enclosure at the rear of the house belonging to the *nkanga* chosen, this being the place where he performs his wonders. The *nkanga* resorts to *mingo*, that particular branch of magic which has to do with reasons for strange and unaccountable phenomena.[1] *Nkema Akuke* now seeks some sign as confirmation of his determination to claim his office at this time. Some native pepper may be wrapped in a leaf or merely covered by it, and left within sight of all, and upon being opened it may be found to have turned into salt, or perhaps it may be some earth that is thus turned to salt. Or a cock may be placed upon *Nkema Akuke*'s head and covered with a basket and thus left for some time. Upon removing the basket it may be discovered that an egg has been laid. All such tests, if successful, will be regarded as indications that it really is time for *Nkema Akuke* to assume the office of *nkumu*, but if the test fails he will usually go ahead with his plans anyhow, fearing the shame that would come to him should he go back to his home after having made the triumphant round of his relatives' homes. However, should he act thus, and he most certainly will, he knows that his days are numbered,

[1] If a man's fields do not produce and he cannot understand why, he will resort to *mingo*. If it is suspected, for example, that the trouble is caused by someone making 'medicine', an arrow shaft is put into a small hole in the ground, and at each name mentioned, the arrow can be pulled out if the person is innocent, but remains stuck fast in the hole at the mention of the guilty name.

7:Brown M-5 (ca. 1940) 1944 FO32 Mongo FO32
Ntomba

inches long and two inches in width, numbering up to seven are brought and attached to the back of her *lombeo* by folding them over it.[1]

The first male child which was born to the *nkumu* before he acceded to the office is known as *Iyomi Nkui*. If he has none, then the right to this name passes to the first male child to be born to his younger brothers. Any child born on the day that the *nkumu* is given his *mostolo* is also called *Iyomi*; if a male he will be *Mola Iyomi*, if a female, *Mpombe Iyomi*.[2] These children must not see the *nkumu* until they are old enough to know his name and greet him properly, and so they are taken to some village other than the one in which he has his residence. When such children are considered old enough to take up residence in the village of the *nkumu* it is an occasion for revelry, a big dance, *atuko*, is held, and there is a feast. The child, *Iyomi*, is brought to the village of the *nkumu* with rejoicing, and this is a signal for everybody desiring to do so to help himself to anything belonging to the *nkumu*. Goats and fowls may be killed and eaten, sugar-cane rooted up, bananas, plantains, and other crops growing near by seized for food. Because of this custom the *nkumu* will take precautions and send his livestock, at least, off to some other village in order not to lose more than he can help.[3]

The *nyemba*, the singer or singers, and the *atotii*, the praisers already mentioned, remain with the *nkumu* during his period of seclusion. Added to these is *atomba lokombi*, the bearer of the *lokombi*, a stringed instrument played with the fingers, similar to a bass viol in its general appearance.

Inside the *ipasa* during the seclusion of the *nkumu*, few people have the right of entrance, but as one enters the *ehanga* where the daylight hours are spent, one finds the couch of the *nkumu* on the left and towards the rear. On the same side and towards the front are seated the *atombe lokombi* and the *nyemba*. *Nsoso*'s couch is to the right of, and parallel to, that of the *nkumu*, but still to the left of the centre posts. To the right of her couch is the fire in the centre, and beyond the fire on the right side is a couch for the *mamai*, likewise somewhat to the rear, with a space in front for the *atotii*.

The month's seclusion being completed, the *nkumu* prepares to buy the homage of the village. *Nsoso* gets rid of her decorative colours, and assumes ordinary attire, becoming like any other of the wives, and is ready to take up all the usual duties of a wife, whether in the garden or at the house. The people are called to come and render to the *nkumu* their homage and praise. The men come to the *ipasa*, are admitted to the presence of their *nkumu* and seat themselves on the bare earth with their legs wide apart and facing him. They then, without uttering a word, greet him in the

[1] The *lombeo* is a belt which used to be worn by Tumba women encircling the buttocks, and this was used to attach their only garment, the *ekwe* among the Bonginda, this being a short loin cloth, or an *ekpaga* among other groups, this being a woven cloth strip worn between the legs.

[2] When a new *nkumu* assumes office, one already in office will take this opportunity of getting more of his sons named *Iyomi*. He takes them to the *molombo* of the new *nkumu*, and having placed a bracelet of cowrie shells on the right wrist, and sometimes one on the right ankle, asks the member of the *molombo* whose right it is to give away the *mostolo* to name these sons *Mamai* (pl. of '*Iyomi*'). This man will then take such a son, and presenting him to the people introduce him by giving him a name, and following with praise as, '*Ose Iyomi Lowase, botolo!*' and the crowd replies with the customary '*Bwee!*'

[3] It is well to remember that not every individual bearing names associated with the institution of the *nkumu* is directly concerned with it. With the practice of 'resurrecting' dead relatives by naming new-born children after them, such names as these become widespread.

literally that the deceased has hanged the heart, the former is used of a tree which leans over and falls from a great cut at its base.

On the announcement of the death, an expert drummer drums out the news. There will be at least four drums of the type known as *lokuku*, and a *mungu*.[1] The four drums are called by the names, *Epunda*, having the 'biggest voice', that is a deep bass note, *Mongeye*, having a higher note, *Mongonda*, a high pitched note, and *Monkoto*, having a very high penetrating note. To these four drums others are added; if the *nkumu* himself did not possess sufficient, they would be borrowed from the surrounding villages, and their notes matched with those of the first three drums, being beaten with them in their turn. *Monkoto* is beaten simultaneously with *Epunda*, giving a rhythmic tattoo. When the news of the death has been sent out on *Epunda*, the funeral drumming commences, as follows:

Mongonda.	Botianganu w'Amba lokolo,
Mongeye.	Ntsala ikita, otongonoko,
Epunda.	Tokund' ibenge molom' o nyama,
	Ombolekeke mmenge,
	Lobanga lolenda ntondo,
	Bikeku bilenda lobola.
Nungu.	Tobilake nkoi nkonge,
	Tobilake nkoi nkonge, &c.

The English and the interpretation are as follows:

Mongonda. A scattering of Amba, the snail. (The mother of twins, always called Amba, here gives her name to the snail because of her prolific progeny, which, upon being introduced to the world, scatter, while the mother dies. So the death of the *nkumu* will cause a scattering of his many wives and children.)

Mongeye. Feathers fall; pick them up. (That is to say, for your arrow shafts, for if you don't, and come back later, the wind will have scattered them and you won't find them. So while the *nkumu* was alive it was the time for his children to learn his teachings so that when palavers came after his death they would be well acquainted with his wisdom and know how to settle them.)

Epunda. We are burying the *ibenge*, husband of animals, You have just eaten *mmenge*, The chin looks up at the ridge pole, The jaw bones look up at the sky. (The *ibenge* is an animal much prized for its fat meat; the *nkumu* always gets his share when it is killed, and the skin is made into carrying straps for infants, and into belts. Batwa are prohibited the use of it for any purpose. It is therefore fitting to liken the *nkumu* to the *ibenge*. *Mmenge* (sing. *lobenge*) is the equivalent of a snack. When a woman brings her cassava from the swamp where it has been soaking for several days, her husband may be too hungry to wait the long hours required to cook it, so to appease his hunger his wife takes a piece or two of the unprepared root, splits it in two, places salt between, wraps it in a *lokombe* leaf and roasts it in the hot ashes, where it is quickly cooked. So the *nkumu* just had time to eat a few *mmenge*; he didn't wait for the big cooking; his life was suddenly cut off.)

Nungu. Don't pull out the leopard's eyelashes. (That is, while he is alive; now he is dead one can disregard his power.)

[1] A *lokuku* is a slit gong made from a hollowed log. In two rooms are produced by striking the two lips of the slit. A *mungu* is a hollowed log, open at one end, across which is stretched a vellum hide.